

/135 cont. /

144 (Ngamiland): "I should like to observe briefly that the Kalahari
197 Bushmen are low in my estimation, both in respect to their language and to their appearance; I was able to confirm an extremely close relationship with the Nama [Hottentot], but in an old dialect no longer spoken today."

141 Since I lack the knowledge for making anthropological measurements, I shall confine myself to /136/ presenting several ~~A~~Auin types as I observed them. They may not be without value for comparative purposes.

I should like to add that in measuring physical height I obtained the following results:

Adult men (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.51 1/2 meters
Maximum height	1.62 meters
Minimum height	1.47 meters

Adult women (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.45 1/2 meters
Maximum height	1.53 meters
Minimum height	1.38 meters

A. Geography and Statistics

131 The ~~A~~Auin, as they call themselves and as they are known to the neighboring Bushmen tribes, inhabit that part of the central Kalahari which is more or less immediately bounded by the watering places Rietfontein, Ganab, Gam, Sidonitzaub, Otjiamangombe, Tjumda, Epukiro, Oas, Stampriet, Rooigrauwater, and Habakobis. Their territory lies for the greater part within the boundaries of the German protectorate. The adjoining sketch indicates as accurately as possible the geographic location, as well as the approximate territory of the neighboring Bushmen tribes. The
101 Hottentot designate the ~~A~~Auin as ~~A~~Au-San (Schinz), the inhabitants of the Chanse Veld as ~~A~~Aukwē (Passarge), the Betschuana [Tswana] as Makaukau. The approximate number of Auin (1),

[104]

1. For the sake of simplicity I shall from now on omit the initial mark ~~A~~, which indicates the click.

!KUNG

[54 cont.]

977 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
176 supreme being X'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

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1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the

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2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

The spelling is correctly X'u. I use X' to designate a click that is even lower than "l". It is also found in other words, such as X'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

[104]
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342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that,
at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents considerable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
[361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or because of the water conditions, they not infrequently content themselves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were, and give only scant protection against the sun.

147 For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below 0° [centigrade].
[513] Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air, a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep without three woolen blankets on such nights.

Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bushmen, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions. What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the language is totally different.

197 I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the Omatako and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated, while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama language. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental click, // the lateral click, / the cerebral [retroflex] click, and ≠ the palatal click. By ∴ I designate the sharp opening of the glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

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137 There were more species of grass, and, particularly on the dunes, more of
 136 trees and shrubs. The fauna was also richer for there were buffalo and
 elephant and many waterfowl in addition to the animals found in the
 Kalahari.

197 The Bushman languages represented in this paper are classified
 [128] according to Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*
 (1929). They are !h3:, the closely interrelated ||ganakwe, |gikwe and
 Naron, and Auen (see also Bleek, 1928: 60-64).

!h3: is a member of the southern group, in which the lip click is
 found, and a dialect of what Bleek calls |nu||en, S6 in her system of
 [194] classification. Bleek's spelling is !h3:, but I heard the click aspirated.
 It is spoken in the neighbourhood of Lehututu, which is 150 miles south
 of Ghanzi.

||ganakwe is spoken to the east of Ghanzi, and has been studied by
 Maingard (1957).

The centre of the |gikwe language appears to be in the country to
 the south-east of Ghanzi. It is a member of Bleek's Central group, closely
 allied to Naron and easily understood by Naron speakers although many
 [194] words are different. A curious feature of the phonetics is the occurrence
 of the ejective lateral explosive followed immediately by the velar glottal
 affricate (see Cole, 1955: 23 and Beach 1938: 222-223). The first sound
 is not mentioned in any papers that I have seen on the Bushman languages.

[114] Naron is Bleek's C2. There is an error which is liable to confuse
 one on page 3 of her publication, where the languages of the Naron and
 Masarwa of Tati have been transposed. Naron should be under C2 and
 the Masarwa language under C1. A grammatical sketch of Naron is
 given in Bleek's paper of 1928.

Auen, Bleek's N1, is the eastern form of the !khū linguistic group
 and is spoken round Gautscha Pan. It was studied by Maingard when he
 was a member of this same expedition and an account of it is given in
 his paper of 1957. In this paper I refer to it as Eastern !khū.

124 The work done in the Kalahari was done through interpreters, and
 much of that in the northern area likewise, except towards the end of the
 expedition when through closer contact with the Bushmen for a longer
 time than in the south, I was able to acquire a smattering of the Eastern
 !khū language, enough to ask straightforward questions and to understand
 straightforward replies. The phonetics of the Bushman languages are a
 study in themselves, and I do not claim that my spellings and indications
 of the tones are exact. In the orthography I have followed Bleek (1929)
 104 194 with the following exceptions:—

1. I have placed the n first when it is combined with a click. It has
 been the convention to place the n after the click in the written
 Khoisan languages, the argument being that the n and the click
 are pronounced simultaneously (Meinhof, 1909: 5). To my
 ear the n is the first sound in the combination.
2. Bleek does not mention the voiced h, which sometimes follows
 a nasalised click. I have accordingly followed Doke (1936:
 448) and used the symbol ʘ.

For easy reference, the symbols I have used are listed at the end of
 this introductory chapter.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

The following are the approximate values of the letters and symbols 104
used in the spelling of the Bushman names. They have been taken from 194
Bleek's paper of 1929, pages 12-14.

b	
d	
h	
k	
l	
m	as in English.
n	
r	
s	
w	
z	
k'	as above, but with glottal closure.
t'	
g	as in get.
y	as in yet.
k	the velar glottal affricate.
x	as German ch.
ɣ	as in sing.
ʃ	as in ship.
ʒ	as in vision.
ɽ	the flapped retroflex consonant.
ǀ	the dental click.
ǃ	the palato-alveolar click.
ǂ	the lateral click.
ǁ	the alveolar click.
ǃ	the lip click.
a:	as in hard.
a	the same sound shortened.
ɑ	the same sound produced far back in the throat.
e	as in air.
e:	as in say.
ɛ	as in met.
i	as in h/i.
i:	as in me.
ɔ:	as in haul.
ɔ	the same sound shortened.
o	as in notice.
u	as in put.
ʔ	the glottal stop.
-	over a letter denotes nasal pronunciation.
ˈ	over a letter denotes accentuation of the syllable.

The middle tone is not marked, the high tone is marked by a dash above the line preceding the syllable, the low tone by one below the line, as -ha, -ha; rising and falling tones are marked ˈha and ˌha.

The voiced h is written θ.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959

FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Note

THE spelling of Bushman words and names is at best a rough approximation. Most Bushman words and names have clicks in them, usually clicks acting as consonant sounds. For the purpose of simplicity, the clicks have been omitted.

[p. 2]

NOTE ON BUSHMAN ORTHOGRAPHY

By D. F. BLEEK

IN writing the article on "Bushman Terms of Relationship" appearing in this issue of *Bantu Studies*, I have tried to follow the phonetic script of the International Phonetic Association, as far as I understand it, except for denoting clicks. For these I should be willing to use the symbols chosen by Mr. Doke for Zulu clicks, were they adequate for expressing all the click combinations found in Bushman; but they are not. 104 ●
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Had Mr. Doke seen fit to adopt one symbol for each implosive sound, regardless of the accompanying breathed sound, I could have used these symbols for three of the Bushman clicks. But unfortunately Mr. Doke has not followed that course, but has chosen three symbols for each implosive sound denoting a combination of the implosive sound with the sound made by the expulsion of the breath.

Every click has a double closure, one made by the front or tip of the tongue against the teeth, alveolar, or palate, or of the lips together, the other by the back of the tongue against the velum, as Mr. Doke has shown in his admirable experiments. In making the click alone, only the front closure is audibly released, the back closure might stay in position, for all we know, no breath being emitted from the lungs. We cannot call that click either unvoiced, voiced, or nasal. But in speaking, this implosive sound is accompanied or followed by breathed sounds. The back closure being in the position for "k" or "g", if the air is pressed against that closure while the click is made, it will produce a slight "k" or "g" sound in rushing out. These sound combinations are called by Mr. Doke and others unvoiced and voiced clicks. If the uvula is lowered while making the click, a nasal sound is produced.

For these three combinations Mr. Doke provides symbols. All three are found in Bushman, the first in very many examples; but there are words in which not the slightest "k" or "g" sound is audible with the click, the back release is silent. In others the back release is silent, but an aspirate follows before the vowel. Again, there may be a treble closure: front of tongue, back of

- 104 tongue, and glottis. The front of the tongue is released first,
 114 making a click, then the back is exploded, making a sort of glottal
 194 plosive. The fricative "x" may also be combined with the click. For these clicks or combinations of sound there is no provision in Mr. Doke's system, so to avoid confusion I have followed the old custom of all writers on Bushman and Hottentot, and used a sign for the click alone, expressing the other sounds by their ordinary symbols.

104 This may best be shown by examples. We find the dental or
 194 alveolar click in the following combinations:—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
la	to fight		
lka	to leave	ʒa	ca
lkha	stick	ʒha	c'a
lha	husband		
lzi	to shoot		
lk'a	river bed		
lga	hippopotamus	ʒa	ga
lna	head	ʒa	na

The retroflex plosive click is found in the following combinations:—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
la	along		
lka	to await	ʒa	qa
lkha	bee	ʒha	q'a
lham	first		
lza	sister-in-law's		
	husband		
lk'as	to skin		
lga	frog	ʒa	ga
lna	winter	ʒa	na

These combinations can be found with the retroflex fricative click, which corresponds more or less to the lateral click of Bantu. Bushmen do not make this click with the tongue against the teeth or side of the mouth, but place it in about the same position as for the last click, only they release it gently, as in making the dental click. I give as examples:—

NOTE ON BUSHMAN ORTHOGRAPHY

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Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
lla	to go		
lla	wet	ja	ia
llhā	lion	ja	
llhagen	to equal		
llā	again		
llk'a kwi	son's father-in-law		
llga	night	wa	gia
llna	there	na	nna

Below the line indicates a low intonation.

The same combinations can be found with the alveolar plosive click, which is made as the retroflex plosive click, only with the tongue pressure very far forward, almost on the teeth. For example:—

Bushman spelling.	English.
†abbakn	to burn
†kā	bare
†khāra	wingfeather
†hau	to jump
†xamma	to fetch
†k'anna	to call
†gabbetn	to throw
†na	to forget

The fifth click, found only in Southern Bushman, is made by pressing the lips together and then sucking the air in. It is found in the following combinations:—

Opwa little, Obu to rain gently, Oho tree, Omwainya to kiss.

In his "Notes on a problem in the mechanism of Zulu clicks", Mr. Doke speaks as if no "k" sound were heard in what he calls the "unvoiced" clicks. I think most people hear a very slight "k". Colonials, in using Zulu or Kafir names, very often omit the click and say the rest of the word as they hear it. They always get a "k" sound, Cetywayo becomes Ketywayo, X'osa becomes Khosa, and so forth. I do not know of any Bantu names with clicks that have turned into words beginning with a vowel on the lips of Colonials.

On the other hand Hottentot place names, when adopted by Colonials and stripped of their clicks, sometimes become words

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000 beginning with "k", such as *Kakamas*, *Karakhois*, from *ḡkakamas*, *ḡkarakhois*; and sometimes turn into words beginning with a vowel, as *Aus*, *Abiam*, *Oas*, from *laus*, *ḡabiam*, *ḡoas*.

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194 Moreover, by speaking of "unvoiced" clicks, Mr. Doke shows that he is thinking of the expulsion of breath from the lungs, not merely of the implosive phone, the click proper. In spite of my disagreeing with him on this point, I would adopt his symbols, were they adequate for Bushman transcription. As it is, I stick to the old signs long identified with the Hottentot and Bushman clicks, and sufficing for all purposes, rather than inventing a whole row of new symbols.

000 To Dr. Beech I tender hearty thanks for his kind help in explaining the phonetic script of the I.P.A., which would otherwise have remained a closed book to me. I only hope that this attempt at Bushman transcription may be clear to other students.

776 The name *Hiske*, Schapera tells us, is used by the Naron and Auen.¹ He thinks it
171 may be a corruption of *Heitsi Eibib*, a mythical hero of the Hottentots.² As this name
is not reported for other /Kung groups by Miss Bleek, Vedder, or Lebzelter, it is
possible that it has been borrowed by the Nyae Nyae /Kung from the Auen. The
Auen (also called Makaukau) live immediately south of the Nyae Nyae region.³

The name *Huwe* is reported for Miss Lloyd's /Kung informants from Lake Ngami
by Miss Bleek, for the /Kung at Tsumeb by Vedder, and for the eastern Kalahari
group by Dornan, but not for the Auen or Naron, who said to Miss Bleek, as
Schapera tells us,⁴ that 'he [*Huwe*] was the "captain" of the men in the north, the
Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hiske*, while one man called
him the "captain" of the white people'.

The name *Kxo* is something of a puzzle. I spelt it this way because I thought
I heard both the *k* and the velar fricative sound *x*, as distinct from the name *Ko*.⁵
I believe now that what I heard as *Kxo* is the name which Schapera tells us is spelt
both *Xu* and *Khu* by Lebzelter.⁶ Lebzelter's account of *Xu* given him by the group
he calls the eastern /Kung accords so closely with the Nyae Nyae /Kung's account of
Hiske-Huwe-Kxo that I feel certain that *Xu* and *Kxo* are conceptually the same
being.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung did not have the name (or title) */khuba*, the Hottentot word
for 'master', which Schapera tells us the Auen and Naron were beginning to borrow
from the Nama when Miss Bleek worked with the Auen at Sandfontein.⁷ Nor did
they have *Thora* which Dornan heard among Bushmen of the eastern Kalahari.⁸ And
none of the informants we worked with knew the name *Erob* recorded by Lebzelter
among the /Kung in the Oschimpoloveld. Schapera tells us that this name came from
the Hebrew *Elohim*, a name used by missionaries among the Nama for 'God'.⁹

776 I shall have more to say about *//Ganna* and *≠Gai* presently. The remaining
three names, */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and *≠Gai*, do not appear in the accounts of
Bushman religion which Schapera analysed. I struggled to ascertain that they were
names, not terms, titles, or descriptive phrases. So far, my evidence leads me to con-
sider them names, but I could not trace their origin. My informants had no idea

¹ Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 191, 374.

³ For the location and extent of the Nyae Nyae region see Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Bands', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325-7.

⁴ Schapera, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁵ Some /Kung informants, /Tl'ay among them, claimed they did not know the name *Ko*. Others told us that *Ko* is a god of other people, a different god, not *≠Gai* or *//Ganna*. They said, for example, that the white man's god is *Ko*. One informant said, in effect, that, even though *Ko* was a god of other people, he could kill anybody—white men, black men, and Bushmen. One is interested to note that *Ko* was the name of the female mantle god of the Bushmen of Basutoland, reported by Arbousset, as Schapera tells us (*ibid.*, p. 181).

⁶ Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this

being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*) or *Xawa*, "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwe* or *Hu's*. (*Ibid.*, p. 183.)

Bushman languages present so many difficulties to those who are not experts in them—difficulties in recognizing the clicks and in sorting out variations in pronunciation between individuals even of the same group, as well as variations that are probably imposed by the position of the words in the sentence and by other grammatical configurations, &c.—that such discrepancies as *Kxo*, *Xu*, and *//Khu* are relatively slight. Fully aware of my own inadequacy in the language, I usually assume when I differ from another observer that the other is right and I am wrong. However, I cannot simply adopt another's rendering of the word without knowing if the discrepancy is due to dialectal differences or to my ignorance or what, and so must stick to my own approximations.

⁷ Schapera, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-3.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

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where the names came from ('The old people told us that he gave himself these names', they said) and I do not have sufficient relevant comparative material to throw possible light on the question. Informants said that $\neq$ Gao/na was the oldest of the names of God and that /Gara was the next oldest. 776

The Names of the Lesser God

The great god named the lesser god by giving him all of his own 'divine' names but not his human name, $\neq$ Gao/na. 553 776

Having been named for the great god, the lesser god is the great god's namesake, his /guma (/gu is name, ma is small or younger), and the great god is the /gu/na (na means old, older, or big).

The concept of the namesake, and of the relationship between the /gu/na and the /guma, is an important one in the /Kung kinship system.¹ /Gu/na and /guma are always of the same sex, /Kung names being sex-linked. One shares in some mystical way the entity of the person for whom one is named. Incest taboos require that one must not marry the parent or offspring of one's /gu/na or /guma. Behaviour between a /gu/na and a /guma is as open and free from formal restrictions as any in /Kung society. They have the joking relationship. Only the usual respect of the young for the old is expected.

The opposite conditions exist between parent and child. A man must not name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Parent and offspring do not have the joking relationship.

It was interesting to me to find the great and lesser god in the /gu/na-/guma relationship rather than the father-son relationship, as it offers some evidence that the concept of the two gods is not influenced by the Christian concept of God, the father, and Jesus, the son. Also one comes to see that the father-son relationship would not serve the Bushmen as well as the /gu/na-/guma relationship in explaining the problem of evil, for a son would not present as sharp a duality, but, according to human standards, would express respect, obedience, deference, propriety, and assistance, which is not in total the function of the lesser god. 776 [177 773]

The Names of the Wives of the Gods

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe that $\neq$ Gao/na gave all his own 'divine' names to both of the wives; di, the suffix which means 'female' is added: Hishedi, Hwvedi, Kxodi, /Garadi, Gani gadi, $\neq$ Gaishi $\neq$ gaidi, //Gawadi.

$\neq$ Gao/na, the great god's human name, is not applied to the wives, men's names never being given to women. One would say instead $\neq$ Gao/na a tsadi, ' $\neq$ Gao/na his wife'. 553

Each wife has a human name as well. The elder one, who usually lives alone with $\neq$ Gao/na, is named Khwovana, Old Khwova. The younger one is //Gow. (//Gow rhymes with how. The oo sound in the men's names Gao, $\neq$ Gao, and /Gao I use arbitrarily and mean by it a slightly shorter, more closed sound, like the oo in oach.) We knew only two women named //Gow but knew many Khwovas. 104 [553]

The wives of the gods may be referred to or addressed by a respect term, used 576

¹ Cf. Lorna Marshall, 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, no. 1, Jan. 1957, pp. 1-25.

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O galloper,
O galloper,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with
them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so
when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other
magicians have a similar power over the wind, /kwe, and are protected
by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it
tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly
they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears
the form of a bird.¹

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed
that 'Kaang (i.e. /kaggen) or, as he was also termed, 'Kue-'akeng-
[761] 'teng, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked
for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "Cagn (i.e. /kaggen)* gave us the song
of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it,
and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance
of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from
the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm
medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

¹ Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20-1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195-9, 193-7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307-9.

• [104] * In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. Cagn is therefore merely another way of writing /kaggen; both represent the same sounds.